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LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND PERSONALITY

Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir

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LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS: A STUDY OF TODA KINSHIP TERMS AND DUAL DESCENT

By M. B. EMENEAU

121 THAT THE DATA obtained by linguistic investigation of any community is of indispensable value for the ethnographer studying that community has long been axiomatic for the anthropological school of which Sapir was a brilliant member. His statement of the point in *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* deserves to be quoted:

> Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.[1]

To go a little further and say that the culminating item of value that the linguistic student can give to ethnology is the study of a community's most highly verbalized cultural manifestations would be what Sapir would and undoubtedly did hold. It is here, in their verbal art-forms, stories, songs, oratory, or the like, that the members of the culture give the most overt and self-conscious expression to the patterns which they follow or profess to follow in their life. Linguistic study, if it is confined to its primary object of recording and analyzing the forms of utterances and never goes beyond that, can offer little to ethnology. It must, with that analysis as a basis, go on to a strict philological analysis of well-recorded and fully guaranteed texts in the forms most highly esteemed by the culture, and the results of such study should provide them "the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines [of a culture gained through sheer observation] significant and intelligible."

121 128 614 [114] The following study presents the kinship system of the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India. In a previous paper on *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, the existence was reported of a complete division of the Todas into matrilineal sibs alongside of the previously known complete division into patrilineal sibs. In this paper I present, following on the kinship system, the material on the functions of the two sib-systems as against one another. In these sections an attempt has been made to use the evidence provided by the Toda art-form of highest prestige, the songs. Discussion based on this evidence is found on pp. 160–161 on the use of "friend" terms beside kinship terms, on p. 165 on the special kinship term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father, and throughout the Appendix, which presents the kinship terms; and again on pp. 169–172, where the data on the

[1] Edward Sapir, *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (Language, Vol. 5, pp. 207–14, 1929), p. 209.

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emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[1] Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.[2] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in EGO's generation based on age relative to that of EGO.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to EGO. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of EGO's mother's clan-sister) is on in reference, ooɲ in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okɲ in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ɖɯɾ-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endɲ in address. En-ɖɯɾ-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" num-ɖɯɾ-fed "your younger sibling," an-ɖɯɾ-fed (or an-dan-ɖɯɾ-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ɖɯɾ-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ɖɯɾ-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɯm-ɖɯɾ-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or oɓɯ n-ɖɯɾ-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xuɪx (=kuɪx) a female.[5]

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

[2] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 205–23, 1938), p. 205 fn. 1. In this paper I use š, ž for palatalized alveolar sibilants, č, ǰ for post-dental affricates and č̣, ǰ̣ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1937–38 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38.

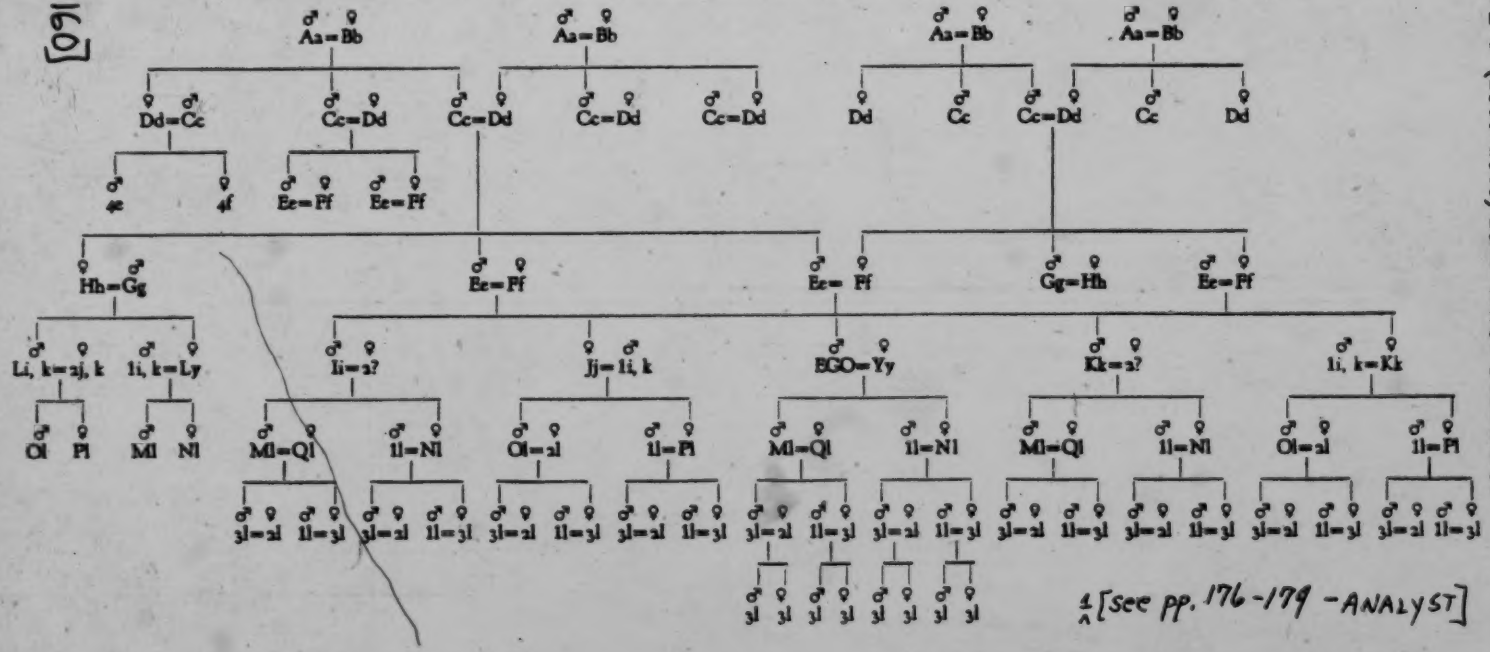
[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and *passim*.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom EGO would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

[Facing P. 160]

DIAGRAM I. GENEALOGY OF TERMS (MAN SPEAKING).

Capitals indicate reference terms of a classificatory nature, numerals reference terms of a descriptive nature, and small letters address terms. (See Appendix.) ‡ ^


♂ ♀ Aa=Bb
♂ ♀ Aa=Bb
♂ ♀ Aa=Bb
♂ ♀ Aa=Bb
♀ Dd=Cc
♂ ♀ Cc=Dd
♂ ♀ Cc=Dd
♂ ♀ Cc=Dd
♂ ♀ Cc=Dd
♀ Dd
♂ Cc
♂ ♀ Cc=Dd
♂ Cc
♀ Dd
♂ 4e
♀ 4f
♂ ♀ Ee=Pf
♂ ♀ Ee=Pf
♀ ♂ Hh=Gg
♂ ♀ Ee=Pf
♂ ♀ Ee= Pf
♂ ♀ Gg=Hh
♂ ♀ Ee=Pf
♂ ♀ Li, k=zj, k
♂ ♀ 1i, k=Ly
♂ ♀ 1i=z?
♀ ♂ Jj=1i, k
♂ ♀ BGO=Yy
♂ ♀ Kk=z?
♂ ♀ 1i, k=Kk
♂ ♀ Ol
♀ Pl
♂ Ml
Nl
♂ ♀ Ml=Ql
♂ ♀ 1l=Nl
♂ ♀ Ol=zl
♂ ♀ 1l=Pl
♂ ♀ Ml=Ql
♂ ♀ 1l=Nl
♂ ♀ Ml=Ql
♂ ♀ 1l=Nl
♂ ♀ Ol=zl
♂ ♀ 1l=Pl
♂ ♀ yl=zl
♂ ♀ 1l=yl
♂ ♀ yl=zl
♂ ♀ 1l=yl
♂ ♀ yl=zl
♂ ♀ 1l=y

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601 561 114 [576] Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as EGO. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[8] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as EGO. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɪ/ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, eɡoɪ/ or en-ɡoɪ/ "my friend" (in address -es is added), nun-ɡoɪ/ "your friend," on-ɡoɪ/ or tan-ɡoɪ/ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193] When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocɔoɪ/jɯɪ, eningoɪ/jɯɪ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These [114] [126] songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

[601] [561] in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister forms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as EGO the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[8] Rivers, pp. 496–98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of EGO is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper The Songs of the Todas (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–60, 1937), especially pp. 549–50.

[114] [9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526–29.

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song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song *piḷjɑɪr* (Piliar, 52) and *merṇɯs* (Mudriners, 57) sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In another *sindɯrp* (Sintharap), wife of *kɯɯɪsjɑʃf* (Kuriolv, 52), and *koɪsɑr* (Kosar, 57) sang; these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: *tæɾθjxæm*, son of *sirjɑɪr* (Siriar, 20), and *tööθɯɪ*, son of *toɪkɑs* (Tokas) and *punɯr* (Puner, 23); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter *ejɑɪ* "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers—the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ego's generation (with the qualification made in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ego's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in address. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., *mɑn-mox* "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ego" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and *mɑn-gɯɪx* "daughter, etc." may be replaced by *en-okng-fædfoj-mox* "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," *en-ɑɯr-fed-moxk-fædfoj-ɯɪx* "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference *močiŋj* "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (*en-in-močiŋj* "my father's cross-cousin," *en-af-močiŋj* "my mother's cross-

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DIAGRAM 2. GENEALOGY OF TERMS (WOMAN SPEAKING).
Only the section is given where female usage differs from male.

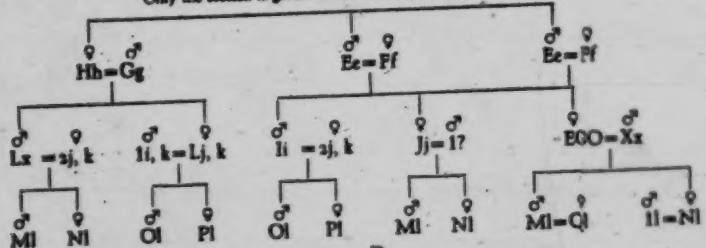


DIAGRAM 3. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR WIFE'S RELATIVES.

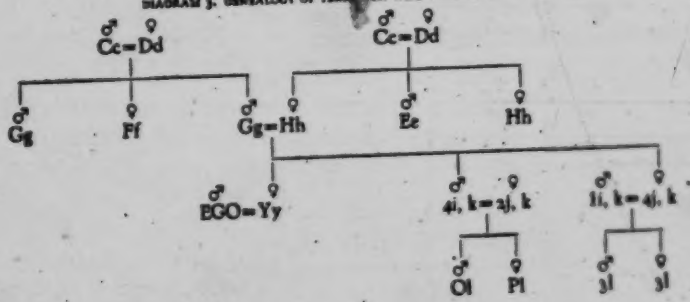
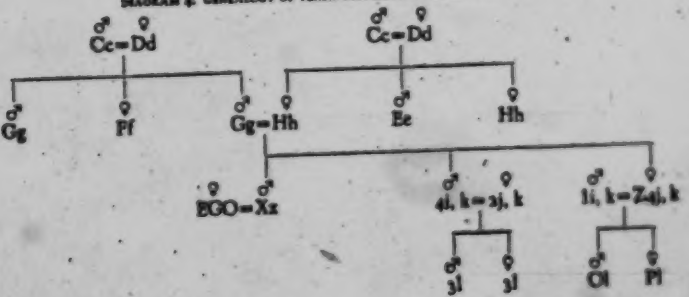


DIAGRAM 4. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR HUSBAND'S RELATIVES.



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cousin;" sex may however be indicated by the addition of the respective sex-denoting words). In ɛɔɔ's generation sex is specified in referring to and addressing his siblings and parallel cousins older than himself, and in addressing cross-cousins, but not in referring to and addressing siblings and parallel cousins younger than himself or in referring to cross-cousins; in reference in the latter cases an optional reference is allowed. In descending generations sex is specified in reference but not in address.

In ɛɔɔ's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than his own (see above), in the case of siblings and parallel cousins when referred to or addressed, and in the case of cross-cousins of the same sex as ɛɔɔ when addressed. In the first ascending generation ɛɔɔ's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and ɛɔɔ's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's, in both cases by prefixing per-ɑ̈wɑ̈ "big-who is" and kwr-ɑ̈wɑ̈ "small-who is" to the classificatory terms, either of reference or address.

The father is not distinguished in address or reference from his brothers and male parallel cousins, nor in address from his male cross-cousins; the mother is not distinguished in address or reference from her sisters and female parallel cousins, nor in address from her female cross-cousins. A step-parent is not distinguished in reference or address from a parent. [595]

In ɛɔɔ's generation siblings by the same father are not distinguished in reference or address from children of the father's brothers or from children of the mother's sisters. There is a permissively used special term of reference for a man's brother who is a son of the same father, oṇtafn; e.g., oẽ en-oṇtafn-ɑ̈ji "he is my brother, the son of the same father as myself," oṇtafn-mɔɔ fɑ̈jɔ̈ɟí "do not seize the wife of (your) brother by the same father (i.e. do not carry her off as you may do with other men's wives and then have compensation [ter] arranged by the tribal council)."[10] When special exactness is needed, descriptive phrases may be used.

In the first ascending generation there is a special term, both in reference and address, for the father's sisters and female parallel cousins, and this is also used for the mother's male siblings' and male parallel cousins' wives, and for ɛɔɔ's mother-in-law and her female siblings. Similarly, there is a special term for the mother's brothers and male parallel cousins, and this is used also for the father's female siblings' and female parallel cousins' husbands, and for ɛɔɔ's father-in-law and the latter's male siblings. In ɛɔɔ's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences, except those who are affines; a spouse's siblings are not classed as ɛɔɔ's cross-cousins, unless they are really so. In the first descending generation a distinction is made in reference between two groups: (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are all descriptively distinguished, e.g., on-ɛnɔɛ "elder brother's son," en-ɑ̈wɑ̈-fed-ɛɔɛn-mɔɛ "my younger brother's son," mɔ̈ɛ̈ŋj-ɛu-ɛrn-mɔɛ "female cross-

[10] Rivers, pp. 513-15. It is possible that oṇtafn is the word meant by Rivers (p. 484), erratum. [114]

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601 cousin's son," male speaking in all three cases), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself (these are all mən-mox [male],[11] mən-gutx [female], or may be distinguished descriptively, e.g., okn-mox "elder sister's son," en-ûwŋ-fed-xutxn-mox "my younger sister's son," moćiŋ-moxn-mox "male cross-cousin's son," mən-gutx are used also of the children of one's spouse's sibling of the opposite sex to that of one's spouse. Members of (a) are cross-cousins to members of (b). In address members of (a) and members of (b) are not distinguished. It will be noted that the sex of the speaker must be regarded in (a) and (b), as in the last paragraph on this page.

The terms of address that would apply to ɔoo's spouse's relatives if the spouse were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the spouse is not a cross-cousin. That is, the basic equation for terms for affines is: cross-cousin = spouse. The only violation of the equation is found in that, man speaking, wife's sister is not equated with the daughter of father's sister or of mother's brother, and, woman speaking, husband's brother is not equated with the son of father's sister or of mother's brother. The basic equation also works with terms of reference in the ascending generations and in class (b) of the preceding paragraph for the first descending generation. In the spouse's own generation and in class (a) of that paragraph in the first descending generation descriptive terms of reference are used; e.g., en(k)-kortfojn-dan-oŋ "elder brother of my wife," en(k)-kortfojn-dan-okn-mox "son of my wife's elder sister," en-oi̯ŋ-dan-okn "my husband's elder sister," etc. A woman may refer to her husband's female siblings, real or classificatory within his patrilineal sib (mod), as mod-okn, apparently irrespective of their relative ages; in address ordinary "sister" terms are used. This word, though itself a phrasal term, is in connotation a simplex, like mən-mox and mən-gutx (cf. pp. 161 and this page above).

Two classes in the first ascending generation yield one class only in the second ascending generation, divided in terminology on the basis of sex, both in reference and address. Likewise, in the third and preceding ascending generations, though occasions for address are comparatively rare. Frequently, when no more exact reference is necessary, the terms for the second ascending generation are used for all preceding generations. In the second and succeeding descending generations no distinctions are made in address, and the same term is used as in the first descending generation (cf. p. 163). In reference descriptive terms are used, distinguishing the sex of the individual and the reference status of the individual's links with ɔoo as in the second paragraph above, (a) and (b); e.g., mo·it-mox or mo·ok-fɛ·idfoj-mox "son's son," mo·it-xutx or mo·ok-fɛ·idfoj-xutx "son's daughter," kutxn-mox or kɔ̈tɔ̈k-fɛ·idfoj-mox "daughter's son," mo·it-mox-mox "son's son's son," moćiŋ-moxn-mo·it-mox "son's son of male cross-cousin."

"Husband" is oi̯ in reference, oi̯jɔt in address; "wife" is teǫmox in reference, teǫmoxjɔt or kutxjɔt in address. When ɔoo is male, he addresses a female cross-cousin, even if she is

[11] Rivers, p. 488, queries whether mən-mox denotes also a son-in-law who is not a sister's son. It is not used of him; he is pajol (see p. 165); when exactness is required kutxn-oi̯ "daughter's husband."

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not his wife, by the same terms that he uses for his wife; similarly, when woo is female, she addresses a male cross-cousin, even if he is not her husband, by the same term that she uses for her husband. 601

Affines are referred to collectively as pojoɪʃ; the same term includes also female affines. When the term refers to an individual, it may denote either male or female.

There is a special reference term for the wife of one's son (own son or the son of one's own brother), if she is not one's sister's daughter, viz. mort-ɓɲ̃ (mort- as in mort-mox = "son's;" -ɓɲ̃ [i.e. pɨɲ̃] is not otherwise found).

There is a special reference term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father (or fathers in a polyandrous marriage), viz. ʊwxitj. It may also be used of the woman in reference to this type of relationship. In address these women use to one another "sister" terms. The word is frequently combined with oŋtufn (cf. p. 163 above) in songs. When a woman laments her husband's death, if her husband had several brothers each married to a separate wife, she may sing:

oɪr-oŋtufn	oɪjuɓuk
oɪr-ʊwxitj	kuwɔɓuk (or, ɯŋtjuɓuk)

"You (plural) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father; you (plural) made (or, caused to sit) six sisters-in-law (wives of brothers)." This may also be said in the words shouted during the dancing at a man's funeral.[13] When a man laments his brother, if he had several brothers each of whom had a separate wife, he may sing:

oɪr-oŋtufn	oɪjuɓuk
oɪr-ʊwxitj	oɪjuɓuk

"We (inclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father: we (inclusive) were (having) six wives." When a man laments his wife under the same circumstances, he may sing:

oɪr-oŋtufn	oɪjɛmum
oɪr-ʊwxitj	oɪjɨum

"We (exclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father; you were one of six wives of the brothers."

The system is essentially classificatory, as is shown especially by the terms of address. It is used in this way by the Todas. Each member of a person's patrilineal sib is addressed by the appropriate classificatory vocative. It will be remembered from Rivers' treatment[14] that the classification is made even when the various families of a sib are unrelated so far as the Todas' genealogical knowledge goes; the correlation of generations is handed down by adaptation and frequent use, and even when the links of a pedigree have been lost to memory, the correct terminology based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and the persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with 601 614

[13] See *The Todas of the Todas*, pp. 556-57. [14] Pp. 490-92.

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601 614 the appropriate terms. Similarly, the members of a matrilineal sib use the appropriate terms to one another, assigning the appropriate terms between any two individuals in the same way that it is done within the patrilineal sib, even when knowledge of the pedigree has been lost. An example may be given of the usage between members of matrilineal sibs. Tiajom, son of tɛ:ŋõuiɪr of the noɪs patrilineal sib (Teigudr, 4) and his wife uɪnɪr (Uwer), is related to kanʃuɪodj of the kuɪs patrilineal sib (Kunpuradi, 14) as nephew to maternal uncle, addresses him with the vocative mumoɪ, and is addressed as emoɪ. Kanʃuɪodj addresses uɪnɪr as elder sister (okõɪ), since his mother addressed her as daughter (emoɪ); they are members of the same matrilineal sib but the pedigree is not known to the Todas.

Within each moiety of the tribe, the Todas may be related, when they are related, as members of the same patrilineal sib, as members of the same matrilineal sib, or by marriage. Frequently, between the same two individuals there is not only one relationship, but two or even three. The question arises as to which relationship takes precedence in determining the use of kinship terms. When this matter was investigated, it was found that the informants were quite articulate on the subject and gave an answer in general terms. Relationship within a matrilineal sib overrides any other relationship; of the other two, relationship by marriage overrides relationship within a patrilineal sib. Relationship by marriage may involve two marriage links, i.e. it is necessary for a Toda to address with the correct terms his wife's relations by another marriage in her family. If the wife has a choice of terminology for any of her relations by marriage, once she has determined the correct term, her husband adopts an appropriate term on the basis of his wife's usage, provided that he is not himself related to the person involved as co-member of a matrilineal sib, this relationship overriding all others. This statement also applies *mutatis mutandis* between a woman and her relations by marriage. The general statement given by the informants is borne out by usage. A few examples will suffice.

Kɛ:mɔŋ (Keinodr, 21) calls tõõkum (Teitukhen, 23) father (ejɛɪ) since they are members of the same patrilineal sib and related thus by generations. He should then by this relationship call the latter's son mɔ:vɛ:mɔ younger brother (emɔɪ). But nafub (Navob), mother of mɔ:vɛ:mɔ, calls kɛ:mɔŋ elder brother (oŋɔɪ) by an unresolvable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Consequently, mɔ:vɛ:mɔ calls kɛ:mɔŋ maternal uncle (mumɔɪ).

Kanʃuɪodj (Kunpuradi, 14) and puɪŋg (Puɪŋg, 14) are brothers' sons within the same family, and the former should call the latter elder brother (oŋɔɪ). But kanʃuɪodj's mother pũʃkɔʃũ (Pathushvoh) called puɪŋg's mother kapiɪʃũ (Kapiɪvoh) grandmother (piɔɪ) by an unresolvable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Hence kanʃuɪodj calls puɪŋg grandfather (piɔɪ).

Kalgiɪɔɪ (Kalgiɪɔɪ, 15) is by relationship in the same patrilineal sib elder brother to kanʃuɪodj. The former's son tɪɪŋɪɪŋ should then be called by kanʃuɪodj ɔɪɔ (ɔɪɔɪ). But the mother of tɪɪŋɪɪŋ, kaɪɪɔɪ (Kaɪɪ, 25), is by an unresolvable relationship within a matrilineal sib grandmother to kanʃuɪodj, i.e. mother to his mother. Hence he calls her ɔɪɔ maternal uncle (mumɔɪ).

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Pi̯ḍ̯jonu (Pöldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to pənɯ (Puners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumɯt. The wives of these men were sinniv (Sinnir) married to pi̯ḍ̯jonu, and pɛrɣɓi̯ (Pergveli) married to pənɯ. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinniv would have called pɛrɣɓi̯ grandmother (piafɯt). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinniv should have called pɛrɣɓi̯ mimjɯt (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinniv's mother cəɓi̯ (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pɛrɣɓi̯, both being daughters of the same mother pənɯbɯf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinniv called pɛrɣɓi̯ mother (afɯt).

DIAGRAM 7

In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piɯt) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumɯt). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piafɯt), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjɯt) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating

[14] Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.

[15] Pp. 367-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

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535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poʃj-ful-fæ ist), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fərtjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pɔjoɪʃ, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoɪʃ, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojoɪʃ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the unkitj, nirj, and purgoɪr sibs of the tɔrθus moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the tööθiʃ moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance; but no one who is mourning the dead

535 614 616 764 765 [837]

[843] [851]

[16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pus-utjt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (mr-ford-mod) as opposed to other munds (mrs-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[62]

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoṭ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noṛlkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnïr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ərliṛ had married piṛkoṛ (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mòiṛ patrilineal sib, whose mund pən is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kòṛ(ṭ)-kontpoṛ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the puṛ-uṛṭ or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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196 539 614 [775] [114] pɔrnaxθɯr,[9] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kɵjniɪ asked what it was he was told: il-ɬon-ɯji pɯɪrotj-noɪj yst "It is just here that the pɯɪrotj-noɪj [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æɪd' ud fintjn. 'poɟjoɯɟ-xuɪrjfojoɯɟ ũɯd-mortk-fæɪḍfoj-xuɪrjfojoɯɟn pɯɪrotj-noɪj ysti; poɟjoɯɟ ṇoɪṇjti; oɪtoɯɟ xarsti' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The pɯɪrotj-noɪj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib; his poɟjoɯɟ feel shame; the oɪtoɯɟ laugh.' " The word poɟjoɯɟ was said to mean his relations, and the word oɪtoɯɟ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poɟjoɯɟ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oɪtoɯɟ, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poɟjoɯɟ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poɟjoɯɟ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noɪlkj (cf. the verb noɪṇjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toɪroɪr patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the kuɪs patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

[764] [578]

puɪlkũɯɪrθoɪr	poɟjoɯɟ-noɪlkj	oɪjxũɯθɯn
pæɪθoɪr	oɪtoɯɟ-noɪṇ	oɪjxũɯθɯn
noɪḍoɯɟk-noɪlkj		oɪjxũɯθɯn
sɪmjoɯɟk-sɪg		oɪjxũɯθɯn

"The toɪroɪr patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poɟjoɯɟ, the oɪtoɯɟ, the people of the country (noɪḍoɯɟ), the people of the district (sɪmjoɯɟ; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poɟjoɯɟ and the oɪtoɯɟ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poɟjoɯɟ and oɪtoɯɟ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

[9] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Pedmadakkir: pp. 398-400); his account is in general incomplete.

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In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

poɭjoɯ-ɳoɪlkj	æɪfɯnen
oɪɪoɯ-foɳt	æɪfɯnen
noɪɪoɯ-ɳoɪlkj	æɪfɯnen
siɪmjoɯ-aig	æɪfɯnen

"I have become ashamed before the poɭjoɯ; I have become a word [i.e. a subject for ridicule] before the oɪɪoɯ; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of pont "word" with oɪɪoɯ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's poɭjoɯ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The poɭjoɯ and the oɪɪoɯ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

poɭjoɯk-noɪlkj	æɪfɯnen
oɪɪoɯk-foɳt	æɪfɯnen

"I have become ashamed before the poɭjoɯ; I have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɯ." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by poɭjoɯ and oɪɪoɯ, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way.

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Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

poɭjoɯ-ɳoɪlkj	æɪfɯnum
oɪɪoɯ-foɳt	æɪfɯnum

"We have become ashamed before the poɭjoɯ, we have become a subject for ridicule before the oɪɪoɯ." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, poɭjoɯ and oɪɪoɯ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the poɭjoɯ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

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196 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

539 nalkanwsk sydj-mil-sydj pwtwθik

614 poljolj-xorrjm ollolj-font öštjwdol wdwθik

om arjen' enk öštoθ sotj-molδkin wdwθwng norrnwsfwn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgols. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poljolj.' Norrnws (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.' " The pair poljolj, ollolj is used as demanded by convention, as is also pont "word," but to fit the pertinent word poljolj (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional norlkj was replaced by korrjm,[23] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and ollolj-font, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, norrnws was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (norlkj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word poljolj, is to be explained.

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On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poljolj, ollolj did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poljolj, ollolj may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 835 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of norrnws to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

[23] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the tortʃofoj ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties[34] give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that sirjuːr (Śiriar, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister ezŋg (Edjog). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventurousness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,[35] and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

[34] An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's tortʃofoj. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. Maknir (Makner), wife of tulkiːθj of the noŋ patrilineal sib (Tuskeidi, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, tööfarm (Tevö), looked like his mother's tortʃofoj-oŋ, nobas of the pirʃoŋ patrilineal sib (Naburs, 64), also called kwtʃ (he reared the children after tulkiːθj died). In a quarrel tööfarm might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: nobas-mox "son of nobas" or kwtʃ-mox "son of kwtʃ," or as nobas or kwtʃ.

[35] B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1898), Vol. 4, Inscription 83 in Châmarâjnagar Taluq of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannada language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Puṇiṣa Daṇḍanâyaka, of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (Bîṭṭiga Hoysaḷa Dêvaru). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "frightened the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Conjeveram, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

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But, since they speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[36] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[37] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[38] that the model house or dairy used in the ur-fo̱t ceremony, and called poɨl-poj (Rivers' pūlpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (pyj) has no possible connection.

Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar before comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Furthermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[39]

The to̱tjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[36] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin marriage, which Rivers trusted in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907). [37] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff. [38] Rivers, p. 702.

[39] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 574–83, 1938).

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The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast.

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects.

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris.

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units.

[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kīnŋ. This is etymologically connected with Kota hoŋg in the same meaning, Tamil koṅku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannada hoŋge with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam hoŋgu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannada hoŋge, which cannot be connected with Toda kīnŋ and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

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APPENDIX

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Reference terms, classificatory

A pɛ̃iin

B pɛ̃iaf; members of preceding generations may be referred to exactly as muɪd-tal-ɛ̃iin, muɪd-tal-ɛ̃iaf (great-great-grandparents), nom-tal-ɛ̃iin, nom-tal-ɛ̃iaf (great-great-great-grandparents), or they and the great-grandparents may all be referred to by grandparent terms.

C piin

D piaf

E in, ejir

F af, afuf

G mun, mumum

H mimj, mimimj

I oŋ, oŋoŋ

J okn, okok

The second entries are reduplicated forms which do not differ from the simplex forms in denotation; they are in connotation somewhat less formal, and no trace of them has been found in the song-language or in the address terms, formal or otherwise. For a preliminary discussion of the linguistic structure of the forms, see my paper *Echo-words in Toda* (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. 1, pp. 109–17, 1938), p. 112.

K -ɪ̈ɯr-fed (-mox, -xuɪx; see p. 159)

L močiŋj (-oɪ̯ or -mox, -ðozmox or -xuɪx)

M mox

N kuɪx

O man-mox (see pp. 161, 164)

P man-guɪx

Q mont-ɛ̃iɲ (see p. 165)

X oɪ̯

Y tozmox

Z mod-okn (see p. 164)

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Reference terms, descriptive

1. The husband of a female relative is referred to by -n-oɪ̯ suffixed to the term by which she is referred to; e.g., okn(n)-oɪ̯ "elder sister's husband," en-ɪ̈ɯr-fedn-oɪ̯ or en-ɪ̈ɯr-fed-xuɪxn-oɪ̯ "younger sister's husband" (in both cases if the husband is not ɐoo's cross-cousin, and permissively if he is), močiŋj-xuɪxn-oɪ̯ "female cross-cousin's husband" (if he is not ɐoo's brother), kuɪxn-oɪ̯ "daughter's husband" (otherwise pojoɪ̯), man-guɪxn-oɪ̯ "sister's daughter's husband (man speaking), brother's daughter's husband (woman speaking)" (unless he is ɐoo's son), monɪ-xuɪxn-oɪ̯ "son's daughter's husband," kuɪxn-guɪxn-oɪ̯ or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-xuɪxn-oɪ̯ "daughter's daughter's husband," en(k)-kontfojn-dan-okn-oɪ̯ "my wife's elder sister's husband," en-oɪ̯ŋ-dan-okn-oɪ̯ "my husband's elder sister's husband" (see 4 below for discussion of -dan- = tan), etc. In most cases explicit description could be carried further, as okŋ-fæɪdfoj-xuɪxn-oɪ̯ "elder sister's daughter's husband."

2. The wife of a male relative is referred to by -(k)-kontfoj (or -(g)-gontfoj, depending on certain grammatical rules) suffixed to the term by which he is referred to; e.g., oŋ(g)-gontfoj "elder brother's wife," en-ɪ̈ɯr-fed(k)-kontfoj or en-ɪ̈ɯr-fed-mon(k)-kontfoj "my younger

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brother's wife" (in both cases if the wife is not ego's cross-cousin, and permissively if she is), močiŋj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "male cross-cousin's wife" (if she is not ego's sister), mən-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "sister's son's wife (man speaking), brother's son's wife (woman speaking)" (unless she is ego's daughter), moɪt-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "son's son's wife," kuɪxn-mōx(k)-koɪtfoj or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "daughter's son's wife," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dən-oŋ(g)-goɪtfoj "my wife's elder brother's wife," en-oɪ/n-dən-oŋ(g)-goɪtfoj "my husband's elder brother's wife," etc. Explicit reference can be carried further, as okŋg-fæɪdfoj-mox(k)-koɪtfoj "elder sister's son's wife."

3. The son or daughter of a relative is referred to (a) by suffixing -n-mox or -n-guɪx (-n- need not be found) respectively to the term for the relative, or (b) by suffixing -k-fæɪdfoj-mox or -k-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx respectively (-k- may be replaced by -g- depending on certain grammatical rules as in 2); e.g., oŋ-mox or oŋg-fæɪdfoj-mox "elder brother's son," oŋ-guɪx or oŋg-fæɪdfoj-xuɪx "elder brother's daughter," en-ūɯr-fedn-mox or en-ūɯr-fedk-fæɪdfoj-mox" my younger sibling's son," kuɪx[n]-mox or kuɪxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "daughter's son," mən-mox[n]-mox or mən-moxk-fæɪdfoj-mox "sister's son's son (man speaking), brother's son's son (woman speaking)," en(k)-koɪtfojn-dən-okn(n)-mox or en(k)-koɪtfojn-dən-okŋg-fæɪdfoj-mox "my wife's elder sister's son," etc. Permissively for explicit reference we may find, e.g., en-okn(n)-mox or en-okŋg-fæɪdfoj-mox "my elder sister's son." A son's son is moɪt-mox (moɪt- = moxn; cf. p. 165), a son's daughter moɪt-xuɪx; a son's son's son is moɪt-mox-mox.

4. Other relatives of relatives may be referred to by suffixing -n- (which need not be found) plus the appropriate term. Most frequently -dən- or -ðən- (= tən; the variation depends on grammatical rules) is inserted after -n- or after the member which may end in -n-; e.g., en(k)-koɪtfojn-dən-on "my wife's elder brother," en(k)-koɪtfojn-[dən]-ūɯr-fed "my wife's younger sibling," en-in-[dən]-močiŋj "my father's cross-cousin." This tən is originally the reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person; it is used often enough in this sense, but more often with kinship terms as in the examples just given without any meaning that I have been able to discover (never, however, when a 1st or 2nd personal pronoun form would immediately precede it). Though it might mean in these uses "(his) own" there are some contexts where no question of the persons being "own" brothers or the like can arise. The reflexive force seems to have been lost in this use with kinship terms, and one is tempted to think that kinship terms are on the way to a grammatical state in which they will not occur without a pronominal reference, i.e. inalienable possession (in reference only, not in address). The reduplicated forms of E-J do not occur with tən preceding. A few other examples may be given: kūətæm-dən-əf "kūətæm's mother," piʃjaɪr-ðən-bīin "piʃjaɪr's grandfather," i-oɪ/-ðən-mən-mox "this man's sister's son," ðəm-dən-mun "the maternal uncle of these men," in-dən-mun-ōō-m "all the seven maternal uncles of this man," ən-dən-oɪ/ "her husband," e(m)-muɪd-om tən-oŋəm-oɪfemi "we (exclusive) three are brothers," iθ-æɪd-m tən-oŋ-m tən-ūɯr-fed-m-ək-oč ucun "these two were living like brother and sister;" in one passage a snake's coming is referred to and the snake, not referred to previously, is called tən-ə(f)-foɪb "the mother snake" and later ən tən-in-foɪb "the father snake" comes. Cf. for other examples 1–3 above and pp. 159, 164.

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Terms of address

Ordinary	Formal	
	Used by men	Used by women
a peβa: } or {pia: }	a and b same as for c and d	
b peβafa: } or {piafa: }		
c pia:	timbje:ʔ	(e)tjβaʔ
d piafa:	timbiafaʔ	(e)tjβafaʔ
e eja:	tjɛ:ʔ, tj:ʔ	(e)tjejaʔ
f afa:	tjafaʔ	(e)tjafaʔ
g muma:	tjɥ:ʔ	(e)tjmumaʔ
h mimja:	tjmimjaʔ	(e)tjmimjaʔ
i oɲa:	tjɔ:ʔ	(e)tjoɲaʔ
j oka:	tjokaʔ	(e)tjokaʔ
k enda:		
l ena:		
x oɨja:		
y toɣmoxja:, kuːxja:		

[194] (The formal terms contain extra-phonemic phonetic material, the glottal stop, nasalized vowels, and initial consonant groups.)

601 In formal address a man, to a man whom he calls enda: or ena:, uses the latter's name
576 plus -ɛs; e.g., kũaɲomes.

A man who is addressed formally by another man with the salutation timbje:ʔ, tjɛ:ʔ, or tjɥ:ʔ, answers tæːm.

Older man or woman to younger woman when putting feet to the latter's forehead in salutation, i.e. in formal address: (e)tjfuneʔ.

Woman to younger male related to her within a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage or by "lover-mistress" relation, says, if he is of:

tõõɓ̃j moiety	(e)tjfukeʔ
toɪrβas moiety	
melɡa:s patrilineal sib	(e)tjfukeʔ
ka:s patrilineal sib	(e)tjxenaʔ
noɪŋ, möɪr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjũuɾβeʔ
toɪroɪr, köɪroɪr, nirj, umkitj, kerɯr, puɾgoɪr patrilineal sibs	(e)tjxũuŋɛʔ

601 Corresponding to these salutations, in a lament for her husband a woman uses the vocatives: uaafuka:, uaafuka:, uaaxena:, uaaβũuɾβa:, uaaxtuŋta:; cf. with these terms the Badaga classification of the Todas given by Rivers, pp. 541–42. A man in a lament for his wife uses the vocative uaafuna:; cf. the salutation (e)tjfuneʔ used by older man or woman to younger woman.

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation.

[114]

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated.

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A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjɑɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯɑɑxuɪxjɑɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯɑɑmoxjɑɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmoxubɑɪ, enmɑrjubɑɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, mɑrj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯɑɑmoxjɑɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained.

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